/183 cont./

601 Forms of address:

father and mother together (whether by their own children or other persons)	ovĕnyi or pĕtăm
father and son together (by other persons)	pĕndyĭk
father and daughter together (by other persons)	pĕndyĭs
mother and son together (by other persons)	pĕndyĭk
mother and daughter together (by other persons)	pĕndyĭs

3. Customs during the Course of Life and of a Day

182 593 [159] [114] The Paez generally give the impression of being contented human beings, and it seems that marriage and family life are better than average. Of course, the observations on this are very scanty, for, on account of the remote location of the individual dwellings, the research worker always has only a brief glimpse of family conditions at any one time. This very solitude, however, and the consciousness of greater dependence on one another within the family favors its cohesion, even as it reduces the conflict and irritation which arise through women's gossip when people live too closely on top of one another.

842 [123] Basically every family wants a great many children -- at any rate so said all the men questioned. Two Calderun women, however, /184/ confided to my wife that there was a remedy -- which they and other women, too, naturally did not use! -- that [825] would with certainty prevent conception: One must eat some of [237] the spittle of a mula (the female, infertile cross between horse and donkey), and then one would no longer have children. They said that a woman does this only when she has already given birth to a great many children. In general every girl desires a great

/186 cont./

[77 797 871 Today all children are obliged to attend school in the mission schools, where they are taught the catechism and the Spanish language and must bathe once a day under supervision.

515 853 The mother nurses her child exclusively during the first six to eight months; only then is the giving of more solid food begun, which, however, does not differ in any way from that of adults, that is to say, the child is given yuca, beans, chicha, brandy, etc., like the adults. The mother suckles the child until the next one arrives, namely, three to four years, and sometimes beyond that, along with the one born next. Every woman who has a child generally also has milk, we were told. Only if the mother should be far away, /187/ for example, on an errand at the market or out fetching wood, may another woman help the child with her milk. In the rare cases in which a woman does not have enough milk to feed her child, she may give it to some other woman, who, however, does not receive anything for it. It may also happen that a family with ten children has become so large that the food is no longer adequate. In this case the woman may leave one or several children in the care of her mother. If she no longer has a mother, however, she must keep them herself. In case the mother of small children dies and leaves a baby of less than two or three months who still cannot eat any food other than milk, the father looks for a woman who likewise has a nursing baby and who brings up the strange child with her milk for two or three years, until it can talk. Then the father takes it back, and the wet nurse is given a cow as "milk money."

853 855 [573]

854 482 Ordinarily the children are carried by the mother. The colored woven belt (táw) and the large shawl (panyelón or séntyatc), in which the child is wrapped and carried by the mother on her back, are needed for this.

857 868 The games of the children are generally instructive for their later life. The boys go bird hunting with the blowgun (pāt), the plaited stone-sling (ísot), or the elastic sling (kaučéro), or they practice catching each other with the lasso, during which the child to be caught represents a cow or a horse. The ability of the children, and of the adults, too, by the way, in the use of the lasso is not

[23]

/210 cont./

423 considerably larger parcels of land than others, for example, the
427 Guagáz family, who, according to my information, own almost half of all private land. Permission for the use of land is granted only for crops with a short ripening period, namely, wheat, maize, beans, and cabbage, but not sugar cane, coca, or bananas, which need several years to mature, in other words, can be used for years. As rent the owner receives a small portion of the harvest, which is left on the stalk and which he must harvest himself.

423 As a matter of principle, land cannot be bought, we were
[428] told repeatedly, for every man must leave his land to his sons. Even if a man has no sons, he may not sell his land, but must hand it over to his brothers. This was the information always
423 given in answer to my direct questions on the subject. /211/ In
437 practice, however, it is quite possible to sell land, and this is not infrequently done, but no one realizes that a land sale actually takes place when a man clears a piece of land for himself, plants it, and exchanges the entire harvest, including the land, for a
[115] head of cattle, a horse, etc. This is what Victoriano did, for example, in order to acquire a horse. He cleared and planted a piece of his father's land, about 2,500 square meters, to sugar cane, and when this was mature, he exchanged the harvest, including the land, for a mare. Nobody wanted to admit that this violated the principle of not selling land.

423 The land belongs to the father of the family, who, as a rule,
241 tills it with his grown sons. If the sons have their own houses,
59 they generally go on working with their father, since no one likes to work alone. At the harvest, the respective wives fetch the food
423 required for their families from the common field. If father and
427 son do not live in amity, the son must plant and harvest his own
593 field, for which he is then obliged to accept the help of friends.
241 It is considerably more expensive to entertain them than family
[476] help, for in the latter case there need not be any chicha for entertainment. Even in this instance, however, the son must ask his father and owner of the family land for permission to cultivate the land. This is not denied, however, After the harvest, this piece of land, since it will lie fallow now for about ten years, goes back

1: Nachtigall--147 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

/211 cont./

423 to the father, and the next year the son must ask his father anew
427 for permission to use another piece of land.

593
241 Besides the land, the father of the family also owns the
422 dwelling, the menstruation house, all the animals -- including
423 chickens and guinea pigs -- all agricultural implements, and the sugar mill. Property marks on the houses, fields, and implements are not required, for everyone knows to whom they belong.

428 Upon the death of the father of the family, the youngest son inherits his house and the greater part of the livestock. If, for example, there is only one cow, he gets it. Similarly, he gets all the land under cultivation at the time. The uncultivated land is divided equally among all the sons. The widow, [768] like the daughters, inherits nothing. The former then continues to live in her old house in the family of the youngest son. The fact that the latter receives so much more than the older ones in the distribution of the inheritance is explained by the fact that the older ones have worked for more years and therefore have had more time and opportunity to acquire property of their own. [429] Favoring the youngest thus represents a certain equalization. If the father dies /212/ young and leaves only a small son, his mother administers his property for him until he is about 15 years [768] old. He need not marry then, however. If there are several younger sons, they, of course, also go on living together in the house of the father.

Deviant inheritance plans of the deceased, for example, letting an older favorite son have more or leaving his house or implements, not to his youngest son, but to his brother, are not possible. Even if a father had ten daughters and only one son and none of the daughters would marry, he could not leave them anything. In such a case, the only son would have to provide for all his sisters, for women cannot live alone in a house and they would not be in a position to cultivate the land alone. If a man has no sons, but only daughters, his sons-in-law generally help him cultivate the fields. Yet he cannot bequeath them anything. His landed property and equipment go to that one of his brothers who takes care of the burial, that is to say, buys the grave clothes for the deceased and provides chicha and food for the mourning

P 428 P [768] T 692 625 C [692] T 682 623 182 [177] P [177] P ● [593] P [624]

/212 cont./ guests. In case the deceased has neither sons nor brothers -- which scarcely ever happens, it is said -- the villager who takes care of the burial inherits his entire property. The widow moves in with one of her brothers or sisters or some other relative.

Disputes and misdemeanors, such as theft or adultery, are judged within the communities by the cabildo; murder or serious bodily injury, by the Colombian state judiciary. It was said that murder and manslaughter did not occur in former times, the old people told us; they are a consequence of "white" influences and the weakening of the cabildo. One can well understand this, for in Calderas where the village council still enjoys a certain amount of power and considerable prestige, it would be unthinkable for a son to stab his father to death. This happened in San Andrés where the cabildo exists only in the form of three functionaries who are basically powerless and without standing and where the young people, through the influences of the living conditions of the white colonists, no longer have any feeling for the old discipline and customs. It was in San Andrés in March, 1953, that the son of the capitan stabbed his father to death. The latter, after the death of his first wife, had married a second time, for which his children reproached him vehemently. In a drunken state, this led to a brawl, in the course of which the father struck off half of his son's right ear and the son killed his father with several knife stabs in the abdomen. After the deed, he fled; but since it was known that he could find shelter only with relatives, the /213/ gobernador of the town of Lame seized him a few days later in the house of his sister, where he had hidden. He was brought to San Andrés in chains and delivered over to the síndico, who was simultaneously occupying the position of gobernador. The latter, an older man of the age of the deceased capitan, tried for some time to reason with the murderer, who gave the impression of being uncommunicative and almost sullen; he pointed out to him the baseness of his deed, of patricide, and then he was led to the church in which the dead capitan was lying in state. The son resisted violently, but was forcibly led up to the corpse and broke down weeping before it. Before he was transferred

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
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marriage bonds were not definitely made until experiment indicated the fecundity of the woman, and that the union was dissolved at the will of the husband if the wife proved to be barren. The same authority informs us that the wife had to give her husband the necessary clothing, while the husband provided food for the family.

A custom mentioned by Castillo was that during menses the women spent the time sitting in small huts expressly built for that purpose, for fear of contaminating the common dwelling and of bringing disease and death to its occupants.

Rodriguez relates another custom in connection with childbirth and death: ". . . y siempre que pare la mujer, ó que muere alguno de su familia, desamparan la casa, dexando en ella al difunto con cantidad de bastimento y de la chicha, brebage, que beben: y á las casas donde parió la mujer, las dejan con las inmundicias de el parto, y acabadas de nacer las criatures, las laban, y se vañan sus madres, poniendose en viaje á buscar nuevo paraje para su habitacion, que siempre procuran sea en parte muy fragosa, por no ser visitados."

These details are confirmed by Castillo and were probably still observed in his time. As to what is done at present, and regarding the family organization in general, it is very difficult to obtain reliable information. The Indians are very jealous of their women, do not tolerate in them any intercourse with strangers, and become instantly distrustful when questioned about family matters.

With reference to death, Castillo differs from Rodriguez in that he states that a dying person was taken from the house, so that he did not actually die in it, and that the dwelling was destroyed by fire. He does not mention the custom of leaving food near the corpse, but states that the body was buried and a fence built around the grave.

Diseases

No diseases came under my observation during my stay at Huila and Tacueyó, and the Indians rather impressed me as being a healthy people. But if their vocabulary affords suffi-

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

pipes they play while walking along, unless their hands are kept busy plaiting braids of gynerium bark in the manufacture of their hats. This is the exclusive occupation of the men. Women almost invariably walk along spinning wool, their distaff under the left arm and the spindle in the left hand, while the right hand is busy at the wool.

The Paez maidens are fond of flowers and are very playful. On one occasion I observed several of them going up the hill beyond the river, in front of the church at Huila, their arms entwined about one another's necks; then they began running up the steep hill as in a contest of endurance. As they became exhausted they threw themselves on the grass, while their movements showed that they were playing and joking all the time. These children of Nature are not unpleasant to look at, except for their usual lack of cleanliness; nor are they wanting in coquetry, and they are often pretty. But in the presence of strangers they are extremely bashful, doing their utmost to keep in the background.

The old women are generally very ugly. Their clothing consists only of dirty rags, and their skin is covered with the filth of years.

Relations between the sexes, especially between husbands and wives, seem to be easy and without an air of superiority on the part of the former. On the few occasions that I had to entertain these people at their houses, the women took the same interest and the same part in the proceedings as the men, which was very different from what I observed among the Central American Indians.

Toward strangers, and especially toward Colombians of other races, the attitude of the Indians is decidedly hostile. Unless induced by the prospect of profit they will neither sell anything nor lend any service, often refusing money and accepting only articles which they especially desire. They will not allow white or black people in their homes, and at Huila they are even unwilling that the only white family living there should share the practically inexhaustible supply of fuel scattered about in the near-by forest, or have horses or cattle pasturing on the almost

/336 cont./

428 together. The land does not belong to the cabildo. Women do not inherit. Only the men. The women go with their husbands. Among the men it is divided into equal shares. The /337/ sons are the legitimate heirs. If a man dies without leaving sons, [593] his brother inherits. A brother can be asked for a piece of land to [423] work. And he gives it. If we are niggardly about it, what will [425] my brother eat, how will he support his children. The eldest son is important, because if the father dies, it is he who takes charge of the family."

The words are nearly all textual. One may deduce from them that inheritance is carried out through the male line. It is the men who inherit the land, houses, and animals, in equal shares. The women virtually do not inherit, since, when they marry, they go with the husband. The sons are the legitimate heirs. If a man dies without leaving progeny, his brothers inherit.

423 The women, nevertheless, can also be heirs and in equal
428 shares with the men, if the husband has no land to work. Cases
[591] are not frequent, but neither are they rare, when the man goes to live in his wife's home, where he remains and works the land [563] which belongs to him through his wife's right. Likewise some "whites" who managed to marry natives have the right of usufruct over the lands of their wives, and the latter demand land to work from the cabildo if they do not possess any.

423 Another Calderun informant, one of the major owners of
428 land in extensity wishes to leave it to his sons without dividing it. Since there is enough land, there is no reason for them to quarrel. Since two of his sons went to Cali when they were small, he says that if they should return there is land for them to work.
423 The lands are solely for the men; the women marry and go with the husband. Referring to the llano of Calderas, he says that it belongs to all of the members of the community. They may build their houses there, while those from other parcialidades [342] have no right to do so. If a member builds a house on the com- [476] munal llano, all the others are obliged to help him with timber and labor. Even the women. The land is communal because the cabildo has decided upon it. Some have plots on this

/185 cont./

623 no other solution, I had to marry, "reflected the informant," for
736 such was the law. The cabildo finds husbands for female orphans
562 (guaiches). Any youth could ask the cabildo for an orphan for a
583 wife and it would give her."

The husband may punish his wife. We were able to ob-
● 593 serve the case of a native Calderuno who with tears in his eyes
[586] asked for the help of the priest to get back his wife who had abandoned him because he had given her some blows with the flat of a machete, injuring her. The complaining husband explained that the maltreatment given to his wife had not been of any importance, and, anyway, she had cost him twelve pesos, meaning by this the amount paid to the priest to celebrate the
593 nuptials. They punish the wife when on returning from work
684 they find her drunk and without food prepared for eating. Likewise they whip her or cuff her in cases of infidelity. Absolute
[837] fidelity is demanded from both spouses, and transgressions from this standard seem to be infrequent.

593 Such cases as present themselves are settled by the cabildo,
623 as we were able to observe in Mosoco, where a husband, through
684 the suggestion of his own mother, accused his wife of infidelity.
692 The cabildo /186/ in session went to the house of the plaintiff to establish responsibility in the presence of the interested parties. According to an informant from Calderas, when a married man has a child by an unmarried girl, his wife complains before the cabildo. If it finds the girl guilty, it punishes her with lashes and authorizes the complainant to cut the hair of her rival.
[848] The child born in this way, said the informant, dies of the plague.
[753] Cases of infidelity on the part of the husband a number of times arouse violent reactions on the part of the wife, up to the point of liquidating her rival in a barbarous and merciless manner, as occurred in San Andrés where out of jealousy a woman practically quartered the body of the other woman, and whose penal judgment was given in the city of Popayán not many months ago.

/186 cont./

237 851 Should an unfaithful wife conceive a child by a man racially white and the husband not be aware of it, the latter considers it his child even if it should inherit the characteristics of its progenitor. He will simply observe, "Why do my children come like this?" His wife answers him, "I don't know; it may 581 be echi or Pijao." In general marriages are well established and ● 593 stable, in spite of the fact that occasional tensions may arise between spouses. Divorce is unknown among the Páez. Extinction 586 of marriages by separation or the abandonment of one of the spouses is rare. In Calderas they can count on the fingers of one hand the cases where a man has abandoned his wife. "This is very ugly in a person, it should never happen," comments a woman. Cases in which a woman abandons the husband are much rarer still, being bitterly criticized when they occur.

594 854 [853] The mother has the obligation to feed and care for her children up to when they can leave home. Labor which she truly performs with love and care. The children suckle until they are two years old and even up to three, a period during which she never leaves them at any time. She cradles them on her breast or in the hammock and carries them on her shoulders, 594 attending to them lovingly whenever they cry. The father looks 867 after his boys from the time that they gain complete mastery of [593] the biped state, without this making him less loving toward his daughters. Then he begins to take his sons everywhere.

During religious festivals they sit at his side, participate in the conversation of their elders, and are served food and [273] drink in the same way as their elders. In Calderas and in /187/ San Andrés we had the opportunity to observe children five years old reeling under the effects of chicha and aguardiente. At this age, when they begin to take part in the economic life of the family group, the father teaches them to chew coca. The father conscientiously performs this labor of endoculturation.

597 736 We have not come across any cases of adopted children. When both parents die, the children stay in the home of the nearest relative.

593 The conduct of the children toward their parents is that of deep respect. Nevertheless, in Calderas we witnessed the verbal

/187 cont./

593 and de facto (with a machete) aggression of a married son (23 years old) against his parents, and the situation calmed down when the father succeeded in disarming the aggressor.

Brothers and sisters respect each other. They avoid aggression, and when they are little they play together. The younger brothers greet the older ones, and when the latter marry, they receive, kneeling, the blessing of the former.

[241] The fruits of the harvests are shared among the brothers,
[476] just as they also mutually help one another in the arduous agricultural work. According to an informant, men care more for their brothers than for their sisters, because the latter, upon marrying, leave the home. Nevertheless they show affection in their conduct with both sexes. Relations between sisters and the mother are intimate, as they live together under the same
[855] roof and intermingle in performing the same work. The older ones help to bring up the younger brothers and sisters. The latter call the eldest brother and eldest sister táta and máma, names that they abandon when they have reached adulthood.
[627] In case of a fight involving one of the brothers, the others go to his assistance and take vengeance if anyone has been injured,
[623] but this is not an obligation. Quarrels between brothers may
[692] arise over the distribution of land. In the greater number of such cases the cabildo settles the differences.

602 Relations between the families united among themselves by blood ties are intimate. They visit one another frequently and are shown painstaking treatment.

593 Mingas are organized more readily among brothers, who
[476] "cover up their poverty." In the religious festivals they mutually
[651] back one another and during occasional meetings they endeavor
[796] to drink and eat together.

1/ [i.e., meetings for collective work--Analyst]